

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T MOSCOW 7185

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM, UR, US

SUBJECT: TBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS: SOVIET GOVERNMENT APPROVAL OF
DRAFT TEXTS: PNE MESSAGE # 259

1. SUMMARY. MOROKHOV INFORMED ME MAY 6 THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS COMPLETED ITS REVIEW OF THE DRAFT TEXTS OF THE PNE AGREEMENT, AND HAS ACCEPTED THEM WITHOUT CHANGE. HE SUGGESTS THAT WE INITIAL NEXT WEEK. HE PREFERS TO LIMIT PUBLICITY AT THE INITIALING CEREMONY TO ISSUANCE OF A JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT AND AN AGREED "COMMENTARY" EXPLAINING THE CONTENT OF THE AGREEMENT AND, PERHAPS, ALSO EXPOUNDING ON THE AGREEMENT'S IMPORTANCE IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE WAS NOT FORTHCOMING ON MODALITIES FOR SIGNING, BUT DID SAY HE WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE AS MUCH OF THE LIMELIGHT AS POSSIBLE FOR THAT CEREMONY. HE COMMENTED THAT HE REGARDED THE AGREEMENT AS A "BASIS" FOR A MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT, AND AS "THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT" OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. I WOULD APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON HOW I AM TO REPLY TO HIS PROPOSALS. END SUMMARY.

2. MOROKHOV REQUESTED THAT I CALL ON HIM MAY 6 AT THE STATE COMMITTEE. UPON MY ARRIVAL HE INFORMED ME THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS APPROVED THE DRAFT TEXTS OF THE PNE TREATY, ITS PROTOCOL, AND THE AGREED STATEMENT.

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HE SAID THAT HE HAS BEEN EMPOWERED TO INITIAL THE

TEXTS AS SOON AS A DATE CAN BE AGREED UPON, AND PROPOSED THAT THE INITIALING TAKE PLACE IN MOSCOW.

3. I REPLIED THAT I WAS PLEASED TO HEAR HIS STATEMENT. I SAID A REVIEW OF THE TEXTS WAS CONTINUING IN WASHINGTON, AND ADDED THAT I PERSONALLY DID NOT EXPECT IT TO PRODUCE ANY PROBLEMS. I TOLD MOROKHOV I THOUGHT THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD APPROVED THE DRAFT TEXTS COULD ONLY FACILITATE A DECISION BY THE U.S. TO APPROVE THEM AS WELL. I SAID IT WAS OUR INTENTION TO PROCEED TO INITIALING OF THE TEXTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND THAT I EXPECTED TO BE AUTHORIZED TO INITIAL FOR THE U.S.

4. I ASKED HIM WHAT DATE HE HAD IN MIND FOR THE CEREMONY. HE REPLIED HE WOULD BE READY TO INITIAL NEXT WEEK, AS SOON AS THE TEXTS ARE ENGROSSED. I COMMENTED THAT WE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED WASHINGTON'S APPROVAL FOR THE LATEST EDITORIAL CHANGES IN THE TEXT WHICH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD SUGGESTED, ALTHOUGH I EXPECTED NO DIFFICULTIES.

5. WHEN I QUESTIONED HIM HOW HE ENVISAGED THE CEREMONY, ESPECIALLY THE QUESTION OF MEDIA REPRESENTATION, HE REPLIED THAT HE HAD NO SPECIAL OPINION, AND THAT HE WOULD BE READY TO DISCUSS THE MATTER. HIS SUBSEQUENT REMARKS, HOWEVER, MADE IT FAIRLY CLEAR THAT HE PREFERS NOT TO GIVE THE INITIALING CEREMONY TOO MUCH FIRST HAND PUBLICITY. HE SUGGESTED THAT PHOTOS OF THE CEREMONY BE TAKEN BY OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHERS, AND BE RESERVED FOR "INTERNAL USE" WITHIN THE GOVERNMENTS.

6. HE SEEMS TO PREFER LIMITING PUBLICITY TO ISSUANCE OF A JOINT STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THAT THE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN INITIALED AND ISSUANCE AS WELL OF A "COMMENTARY," TWO TO THREE PAGES LONG, EXPLAINING THE CONTENT OF THE AGREEMENT. HE NEVERTHELESS DID REPEAT SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS OTHER IDEAS OR OTHER PROCEDURES "RELATING TO THE EXTERNAL WORLD" WHICH WE MIGHT SUGGEST.

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7. I STRESSED THAT OUR AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT IN MOSCOW ARE VERY INTERESTED IN THE PNE AGREEMENT, AND GAVE MOROKHOV TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE WOULD BE UNDER SOME PRESSURE FROM THE PRESS TO BE PRESENT AT THE INITIALING. HE SAID THIS COULD BE DISCUSSED, BUT DID NOT SEEM ENTHUSIASTIC. HE SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND TO PUBLISH THE TEXT AT INITIALING, THOUGH HE

AGAIN ADDED HE HAD NO HARD AND FAST INSTRUCTIONS ON THE MATTER. HE OFFERED THE OPINION, HOWEVER, THAT THE LIMELIGHT BE SAVED FOR SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT. I SAID THAT MY IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE U.S. AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO PUBLISH THE TEXTS AT INITIALIZING, BUT RATHER WAIT FOR SIGNING.

8. HE SAID THAT THE "COMMENTARY" WHICH HE SUGGESTED FOR ISSUANCE AT INITIALING NEED NOT BE ANY MASSIVE DOCUMENT, BUT SIMPLY A TWO OR THREE PAGE STATEMENT WHICH WOULD SATISFY THE PRESS AND THE CURIOSITY OF THE PEOPLE OF BOTH COUNTRIES. HIS REPLY TO MY QUESTION OF WHETHER THE "COMMENTARY" WOULD BE SIMPLY A SUMMARY WAS NOT CLEAR, THOUGH I GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT IT MIGHT PERHAPS TO BEYOND THAT TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PNE AGREEMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR YOUR RELATIONS.

9. HE COMMENTED THAT AS FAR AS HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO ASCERTAIN TREATMENT OF THE PNE AGREEMENT IN THE U.S. PRESS HAS BEEN QUITE FAVORABLE. IN AN APPARENT ALLUSION TO THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE U.S., HE ADDED JOCULARLY THAT "UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES" THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MIGHT FIND ISSUANCE OF A STATEMENT OF THE TYPE HE SUGGESTED USEFUL. TIMERBAYEV AT THIS POINT ENTERED THE DISCUSSION, ARGUING THAT THE CCD WOULD ALSO FIND SUCH A STATEMENT USEFUL.

10. I TURNED THE CONVERSATION TO ACTUAL SIGNATURE OF THE DOCUMENTS. MOROKHOV SAID THAT ANSWERS IN THAT REGARD "ARE NOT IN OUR HANDS." HE SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY ADVOCATED SIGNATURE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE TTBT RATIFICATION, AND TO
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SERVE AS CONFIRMATION OF THE POLICIES OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE FOLLOWED IN RECENT YEARS IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH EACH OTHER. I REPLIED THAT MY PERSONAL IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE U.S. AGREED WITH THAT POINT OF VIEW, AND THAT WE ALSO WOULD LIKE TO SIGN IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

11. MOROKHOV EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION THAT HIS AUTHORITIES HAD APPROVED SUCH A COMPLEX DRAFT WITHOUT ANY CHANGE. LATER, AFTER WE HAD FINISHED DISCUSSIONS ON BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON NONPROLIFERATION (SEPTTEL), HE RETURNED TO THE PNE AGREEMENT, EMPHASIZING ITS IMPORTANCE IN OUR RELATIONS.

12. EXPANDING ON THE POINT, HE EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE AGREEMENT COULD SERVE AS A "BASIS FOR AN

INTERNATIONAL PNE AGREEMENT, REQUIRING NO MORE THAN A FEW CHANGES TO TURN IT INTO THE MULTILATERAL TREATY WHICH IAEA HAS BEEN TASKED TO PRODUCE.

13. FURTHER, HE SAID, THE AGREEMENT, "COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN." HE EXPLAINED THE PRECEDENT SET BY THE TREATY MADE POSSIBLE A CTB WITHOUT PROHIBITING PNE'S AND ADDED, JOKINGLY, THAT THE TEST BAN YIELD LIMIT COULD AT LEAST BE REDUCED TO "5" KILOTONS, IF NOT TO ZERO. I SAID THAT I AGREED THAT THE AGREEMENT WOULD CERTAINLY BE REGARDED AN IMPORTANT STEP BOTH IN THE CONTEXT OF FUTURE WORK ON AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT AND ON A CTB. MOROKHOV OFFERED THE CLOSING COMMENT THAT THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY HE HAD HAD IN EXPLAINING THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TO HIS AUTHORITIES WERE ASSERTIONS IN THE WESTERN PRESS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD ACCEPTED "ON-SITE VERIFICATION." HE SAID HE HAD OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM BY EXPLAINING THAT THE OBSERVERS SERVED NOT ONLY TO VERIFY, BUT ALSO TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR COOPERATION.

14. ACTION REQUESTED. I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON HOW WE ARE TO REPLY TO MOROKHOV'S SUGGESTIONS THAT WE INITIAL NEXT WEEK. WE HAVE BEGUN ENGROSSING THE TEXTS REFERRED TO IN OUR PNE MESSAGE NUMBER 257, AND WILL POUCH A ZEROX
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COPY OF THE ENGROSSED TEXTS IN THE CLASSIFIED POUCH DEPARTING MOSCOW MAY 8.

15. I WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON WHETHER WE SHOULD PRESS FOR AN INITIALING CEREMONY OPEN TO MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES.

16. I SUGGEST IF WE ACCEPT MOROKHOV'S PROPOSAL THAT WE ISSUE A JOINT "COMMENTARY" ON THE AGREEMENT AT THE TIME OF INITIALING, WE PREPARE A DRAFT OF SUCH A STATEMENT SOON IN ORDER TO FORESTALL, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SOVIETS OVER LANGUAGE.

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